1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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771 openly hostile to the old religious system. If people will take trouble and spend money on a religion disestablished and scorned by their rulers, it can only be because they believe in it.

The explanation of this paradox lies in a misunderstanding of the Chinese (and Min Chia) approach to a religious rite, and the nature of the idea of what is sacred to the European, and to the Chinese. To the West, whether Christian, Moslem or Hebrew, and one may add Hindu, the Church or other place of worship is itself sacred, the house of God, where men meet only to worship the deity in a communal rite. This idea is wholly absent from the Far East. To these peoples religion is essentially not a communal, but a personal, or at most a family affair. The most important rites take place, not in any public temple but in the privacy of the home. The temples of the gods are monuments of piety,
793 built to please, not to house, the deities. Thus the Buddhist
791 "priest" is wrongly described, for he is is not the father of a flock, nor a sacred person knowing more about the gods and how to serve them than a layman. He is at best a monk self-vowed to a life of abstention in order that he may be reborn nearer to Nirvana, and he is also a technician who can be called upon to perform wearisome rites for which the layman has neither time nor inclination. At a funeral, or in sickness, the Buddhist monks are called in to chant sutras, for a fee, just as the doctor is called in to prescribe.

771 There is no communal worship at a temple by the laity.
782 Men and women go to the festivals to burn incense and offer a cash at the shrines of the gods, individually, to acquire merit, avoid ill fortune, or in fulfilment of a vow given in time of sickness. At other times, if they visit a temple, they do not feel called upon to behave in any but the ordinary way.

771 As a practical working system the religion of the Min Chia

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776 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it
778 has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the
755 pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 A large number of these more informal rites not con-
753 nected with the worship of any recognised deity are in-
751 tended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never
753 eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

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one does so one will contract the disease. This curious belief is universal, and great precautions are taken when travelling to make sure that eggs are from a safe source.

It is a fact that the yolk of hens' eggs is the medium in which what is believed to be the germ causing leprosy has recently been successfully cultivated in European laboratories. This discovery, which is as yet not fully confirmed, is of course quite unknown to the Min Chia, and if it proves correct will be a striking instance of popular superstition coinciding with scientific fact. The Min Chia also believe that leprosy is transmitted by flies which have alighted on a leper's sore, and later touch the skin of another person; a belief which may be due to hearsay knowledge of the germ theory. Goitre, which is very common in Yunnan due to the lack of iodine in the water, is believed, curiously enough, to be caused by mental anxiety and worry, perhaps because it mainly attacks the under-nourished poor, who may be expected to be more afflicted with worries than their wealthy neighbours. Snakebite, which is much feared, especially in the rice planting season when the workers must wade in the flooded fields, is believed to be mortal in all cases unless the wound can be quickly and tightly bound with a maiden's hair, a specific usually easily available, as the girls are at work in the field also. These cases where disease is believed to be due to contagion or infection are rare; for the most part illness is attributed to malign or angry ghosts, and the remedy is sacrifice at one of the shrines mentioned above, or the re-orientation of the ancestral tombs if it is believed that the angry ghost of an ancestor is responsible.

The Min Chia do not practise Black Magic and are unaware of its existence. A description of rites such as the making of wax figures and their subsequent destruction to compass the death of an enemy excites surprise, and the inquiry whether foreigners do that sort of thing. On the

3: Torrance E-4 (no date) 1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship. 191 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man*. Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship 782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee" or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign favor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 782 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep them from entering the house.

796 776 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves three times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month. but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 778 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

They were about 10 centimeters high and were shaped somewhat like 751
a tripod, pointed at the top. When I asked the meaning of these figures I got no clear answer. But later I was told that these figures were supposed to represent dead Communists. Symbolic corpses such as these are called lon-ma. Armed warriors gathered in the temple and while the lamas read prayers, they made threatening gestures with their weapons in the direction from which the Communists were expected, and struck the "corpses" symbolically. This magic performance is staged before every war.

Not only people protect themselves with the help of amulets; the latter are also used to protect animals. If the Fantzu are / 56/ worried about the health of a horse, they tie a bunch of ribbons on its mane. They buy the ribbons from a lama who makes them efficacious by means of magic formulas. The sacred yaks and sheep are protected in the same way. The ribbons must be of five different colors: red, yellow, green, blue, and white. They are cotton or silk, depending on the wealth of the owner.

It was my impression that, apart from the belief in obos, the 787
magic influence of the configuration of the earth's surface and the distribution of water, the thing the Chinese call feng-shui, does not seem as important to the tent nomads as it does in China. The feng-shui is judged only by the lamas, for example, when a tent-site is being selected. It is considered unlucky to pitch a tent opposite the main gate of a house, a thing that can happen if one is traveling in the region of the sedentary Fantzu. The most important protection for a tent is the prayer flag. Within the tent people are careful that they do not step over the hearth when they pass from one section of the room to the other. I learned nothing about special superstitions connected with eating or traveling.

The oft-mentioned reading aloud of sacred writings by bŏm-bu [782] ●
lamas or laymen may be called prayer. Important forms of prayer 788
are also telling one's beads, and prayer flags and prayer wheels which are specifically Lamaistic. Beads can be counted any time one happens to have a hand free. In almost every tent there is also a hand prayer wheel (1) which usually lies on the altar when it is

1. Rockhill 1), page 738 f.

not in use. It is turned morning and evening by both men and women. One seldom finds stationary wheels that are turned by hand. Among the tent Fantzu I did not see any prayer wheels turned by water power or by

788 the wind, as I did among the sedentary Fantzu. On the other hand, prayer flags (2) were used a great deal. In front of most tents there

2. Rockhill 1), page 739.

is a mast from which as /57/ a rule two lines are suspended adorned
792 with prayer flags. In cases of illness or other misfortunes the peo-
782 ple visit a lama in a monastery and ask his advice. The lama may then recommend the use of a prayer flag which is printed by the lama, usually free of charge.

We must also mention the fact that lamas are called upon to influence the weather by means of prayer, especially when there is too much rainfall or a drought. In that case the lama comes to the tent encampment and pitches his own tent, in which he reads sacred writings.

I did not learn anything among the tent Fantzu about special customs to keep off thunderstorms. The sedentary Fantzu leave it to the lamas to ward off thunderstorms.

[821] Earthquakes are considered a punishment for the wickedness of human beings. When there are eclipses of the sun and moon the people pray, as they do so often, simultaneously with lips, rosary and prayer wheels, and burn juniper wood.

Laymen as well as lamas and bŏm-bu offer sacrifices to ward off evil influences. On the 1st, 8th, 15th and 29th of each month they burn incense in front of the tent. This custom is observed particularly after a death, in order to propitiate the spirits of the ancestors. Morning and evening they burn dwarf juniper and remnants of yak dung. At the same time they set out a brass cup with sacrificial water, as well as butter and tsamba. The sedentary Fantzu have special altars for this purpose made of loam; the tent Fantzu burn their offering on the ground. There are also sacrifices made chiefly to Dzam-la (Ts'ai-shen, the god of wealth) whose statuette stands on the family altar. They place three bowls to the left and four to the right of this statuette, and these are filled every morning with fresh water, just as those in front of a Buddha statue. After the noon meal the bowls are emptied and stacked.

751 /58/ Sacrifices are made to the ami (mountain spirit) on all
782 sorts of occasions, chiefly to ward off evil, and darts and "khadaks"(1)

1. The "khadak," a silk scarf, is an important object of the religious and social life of the Tibetans.

Mewu

In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift.

751 782

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made

782 224

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter.

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The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1)

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1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and

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787 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must
792 travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is
179 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-
771 Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic
778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an
179 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The
177 Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

●782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

Mewu

possible while turning the prayer wheel which contains the same formula. The prayer is also written on the prayer flags which are found beside every tent. The lama reads prayers for special purposes, as for example, healing the sick. At festivals laymen together with lamas repeat common prayers. 782

Lamaistic ideas are probably also essentially responsible for the strange funeral rites of the Fantzu. In the vicinity of each lamasery there are two different elevated burial sites, one for lamas and one for laymen. Immediately /61/ following death the naked corpse is tied up in a squatting position and covered with a new felt coat. A person buys the coat himself or is presented with it by his son or a close relative when he gets old. The corpse is tied together not by the relatives but by three men from the neighborhood. The relatives are not present when this is done. The bound corpse is laid either behind the curtain at the entrance to the tent or on the altar box. The next morning before daybreak the three neighbors who have tied the corpse together arrive, carry the corpse out of the tent and tie it on a horse or yak. They lead it thus to the burial place, taking along tea, tsamba, butter and mo-mo (bread). At the burial place they make a pile of yak dung about a foot high, and place on it a small portion of the food offerings which they burn as a sacrifice. The corpse is laid somewhat below the burnt offering. The greater portion of the food that has been brought along is eaten by the three men who have transported the corpse to the burial place, or else it is given to the beggars who have congregated at the site. One of the three men gets the felt coat in which the deceased was wrapped, as a reward. Only food offerings are made if the deceased is a male, and they consist of a little barley and oats which are placed beside the corpse. Women get cheap ornaments in addition, and these are laid beside the corpse. They are sometimes stolen by Chinese, but never by Fantzu. Only the three who have attended the corpse go to the burial place, and sometimes also beggars who are, however, very rare in the territory of the Fantzu. The corpse and the burnt offerings attract vultures, and it is usually only a few hours before they appear. The attendants remain at the burial place until the vultures have consumed the corpse, which as a rule happens very quickly, since many birds gather. (1) If the vultures do not devour 764 777

1. The alertness of the vultures is amazing. For days one may not see any at all or only one or two, whereas a sudden flock of them is usually a sure indication that a funeral is taking place.

776 the White Stone God. The god, to whom the Ch'iang wanted to
773 give thanks, was the one who directed them to defeat the Ko. Since the god had no concrete appearance, they used the white stone as a symbol. After all, the white stone was the weapon with which they defeated the enemies at the god's direction. Here we see that the Ch'iang worship of the white stone has a profound meaning and an historical basis.

776 The Ch'iang people now use the term "White Stone God," or rho-pi-tzé. It seems as if they regard the white stone as god. Actually, the white stone is only a symbol of god, and not a god by itself. What we should like to find out is what god it was who helped the Ch'iang defeat the Ko. The legends give no explanation of such a god. As the Ch'iang people, having met the god only in dreams, did not know while awake who the god was, so they said, "He is the protector; but who is he?" And they also said, "He is God." Here we see the people actually did not know what god he was. However, there is no doubt that the Ch'iang tribesmen have always regarded this god as their guardian deity ever since their victory over the Ko. (3) /The figure 3 for Note 3 is missing in the text. I presume this is the logical place for it. -- translator's note./

3. Now in Li-fan hsien, at Hou-yu-k'u-shang-san-li, among the nine gods on the roof of the Ch'iang, one is the god of directing war called Ta-la. According to what is said, this is the god who directed the victorious war against the Ko. This saying, this writer suspects, is a later addition, for different gods are worshiped on the roofs in different places but there is only one legend of the Ch'iang like this.

According to legends, the Ch'iang once abandoned their worship of the white stones. This was the period when "men did not worship gods and gods did not care for men." The Ch'iang then returned to their worship of the Forest God, or mei-be-tzé. (It is said that before they worshiped the White Stone God, the Ch'iang worshiped this god.)
• [782] There was a definite code of ceremony--sacrificing a lamb, spreading its blood, but prohibiting the eating of its flesh which was either burned to ashes or thrown away in the wilderness. They also composed a standard version of benediction. Sacrifice was held in the Sacred Forest regardless of the weather. Later they built a public temple called wa-gi.

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10. Montandon, Traite d'éthnologie culturelle, p. 142.

person's death is caused by the attack of an evil spirit, the source of his disease can be found by dissecting and examining the corpse (11)

11. Levy-Brühl, Le surnaturel et la nature dans la mentalité primitive, p. 184.

Anthropologists call this practice "autopsia." Some other places in Africa, such as Libreville, Pahonius and Ngounie, have similar practices. (12) These tribes, however, directly dissect the corpse while

12. "Un enterrement chez les Ishagos," p. 138-9 (Bulletin de la société de recherches Congolaise, No. 8, 1928.)

the Ch'iang substitute the goat for the corpse. Whether the substitution of the goat for the corpse has a specific meaning or not will be discussed in the conclusion.

• 782 Praying for Rain-- The Ch'iang live in mountains where geographical environment is perilous and difficult. In ancient times a traveler once said, "It worries even birds to pass through them. How can men do it!" Farms are along both sides of the stream or on slopes. Farming under such circumstances, as we can imagine, relies heavily upon rainfall. A summer without rain often makes the harvest hopeless. So praying for rain becomes a very serious business. It would take too much space to describe the various legends and stories about the drought and the rites of praying for rain in all places. Here we will introduce to our readers only one or two programs related to religious beliefs. The Ch'iang custom of praying for rain along the Tsa-ku-nao River in Li-fan is most interesting. For instance, whenever they have a long period of dry weather, the Ch'iang at Hsing-shang-liu-chai, Tseng-t'ou-san-chai and Chu-erh-san-chai as well as those at Niu-shan, Lo-shan, Kan-ch'i, Wen-shan, Chia-shan, Jo-ta and Hsi-shan must go to search the mountains, which they call ho-mu-mo-gee-sar-lir-rahge. The so-called "mountain search" is to prohibit the digging of medical herbs and the trapping of animals. The Ch'iang believe that the digging of angelica and other medical herbs destroys the treasure of the land and violates the law of regeneration. As to the prohibition of trapping animals, it is because the Fork God or horn-mo-tze (the God of Hunting symbolized by a fork) worshiped by hunters is a symbol of slaughter. He should be excluded during the days of difficulties so as to follow the will of Heaven. Once the order of "mountain searching" is published, each village will send several persons to

782 join in the search. If a man is found violating the prohibition, he will be beaten, according to the rules, until he is bleeding because they believe otherwise there will be no rain. This psychology is very similar to the psychology of the Australian aborigines. (13)

13. Besson, Le totémisme.

/26/ If, after searching the mountains, there is still no rain, a praying-for-rain organization of a larger scale will be formed. The people at Hsia-san-chai /three lower villages/ in Hsing-shang would ask the people at Shang-san-chai /three upper villages/ to pray for rain. The Shang-san-chai people would then send a delegation to the Ch'iang's Sheng-shan /Holy Mountain/ called be-ko-ga. (14)

14. This mountain is located at Shang-san-chai of Hsing-shang-liu-chai on the northern bank of the Tsa-ku-nao River. The place is very high and extremely cold even in summer. The valley casts forth clouds and fogs in the evening. The peaks of the mountains are above the clouds and fogs. Wandering and resting among them is like being a fairy. A temple has now been built to worship three holy stones, pai-ang-ang, pai-lan-lan, and pai-hsi-hsi.

There they would vow to the god and ask for permission to take a carved tablet to call together the people. This carved tablet is kept in a cave at San-chien-shan (the Ch'iang call it tchi-rŭ-ga), four li from the Holy Mountain. Having taken the carved tablet and returned to the Holy Mountain, they leave one half of the tally before the god (as a talisman) and take the other half down the mountain to be carried from village to village. Wherever the tablet goes, every family must send someone to participate in the reception. Otherwise, the family will not only be blamed by all but also punished. Participants are usually married women, and only in very few cases, men and boys. The number of people grows as they go from one village to another. (However, aside from the delegation, no one from Shang-san-chai in Hsing-shang participates.) Each village brings a jar of wine which is used for honoring the god. On arriving at the peak of the Holy Mountain, all bow to the god, complain about the horror of drought, burn incense, and honor the god with libation. The delegation of Shang-san-chai returns one half of the carved tablet, puts it together with the other half, and then says, "All people are here. The drought is true. You may enjoy the incense. You must make the people prosperous. Your talisman is here..." Then a newly

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

• • • • •

Praying-for-rain Song

782 539 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which is as follows:

Man's _____ often looks for woman's_____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing_____, ku-ku-ku; playing_____ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 533 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

782 533 two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

771 774 In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion.

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E. B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E. B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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Coming from the east the main approach is by either the Tso-so or Ch'ien-so T'u-ssu territory. From the north by way of Ki-bo Shan from Mu-li.

A trail leads also from the mouth of Luë-dzu valley on the Yangtze along the banks of the latter to Chung-tien, but the Zho Chhu or Shu gyi (Wu-liang Ho) must first be crossed near its mouth.

Inhabitants. — The main inhabitants of Yung-ning are the Hli-khin tribe (PLATE 221), a branch of the Na-khi who speak a peculiar dialect only with difficulty understood by the Li-chiang Na-khi, who converse with them in Chinese. Genuine Li-chiang Na-khi have migrated to Yung-ning and one village, Boa-ts'o-gkv near the lamasery, is entirely inhabited by them. Lo-lo from Ssu-ch'uan have settled to the south of Yung-ning, and also lately on Mt. Yo-wa-bu to the south-west, where they have destroyed most of the forest. Chinese live in the upper and best part of Tsui-yi valley and in the rockier lower part Li-su have settled for many generations. There are undoubtedly some Hsi-fan, the original inhabitants of Mu-li, and also a floating population of Tibetans. The people of Yung-ning, that is the Hli-khin tribe, are now mainly adherents of the Yellow Lama Church (Gelug-ba sect), but their original Shaman religion still exists and is practised by the few remaining sorcerers, who are called Nda-pa (PLATE 222). Unlike the Na-khi Dto-mba or priests, they have no written language, and chant everything from memory.

Another sect called Ha-pa, which dates back to Padmasambhava, also practises its witchcraft in Yung-ning. The Ha-pa priests have their own literature, in manuscript form, several centuries old. They make blood sacrifices, mainly offering sheep at their ceremonies, and, similarly to the Dto-mba of the Na-khi, erect peculiar tower-like structures, some of which are called Nya-ta (PLATE 223), to avoid evil, etc. These priests whom the Yung-ning people call Ha-pa, are the genuine sorcerers of the Hsi-fan or Boa of Mu-li who call them Ts'a-mba.

On the banks of the Zho-Chhu dwells another branch of the Na-khi known as Zhĕr-khin.[1] They speak another dialect which is, however, more closely related to that of the Li-chiang Na-khi than to the Yung-ning Hli-khin. The Zhĕr-khin have a written language of their own, that is pictographs. It is similar to the Li-chiang Dto-mba script but is not understood by the latter; some of the symbols are different, and so is the dialect and pronunciation. The Yellow Lama sect and the Ha-pa sect employ the Tibetan script in their books. The ceremonies of the Nda-pa, the original Yung-ning religion, will be described in another volume dealing with the religion

[1] All Na-khi living on river banks in hot valleys, as in the Yangtze and Zho Chhu valleys, are called Zhĕr-khi or Zhĕr-khin by the Li-chiang Na-khi and Yung-ning Mo-so respectively. The word *zhĕr* means to be afraid, and refers to their being afraid to come from their hot valleys to the cold snowy uplands, inhabited by the mountain Na-khi. *Zhĕr-khin* is also an insulting term and any one who is stupid is called a "Zhĕr-zo" — son or child of Zhĕr; the name Zhĕr-dü (Hot land) is given to the hot river valleys. *See:* J. F. Rock, the Zhĕr-khin tribe and their religious literature in *Monumenta Serica* Vol. III, Fasc. 1, 1939; pp. 171–188.

2; Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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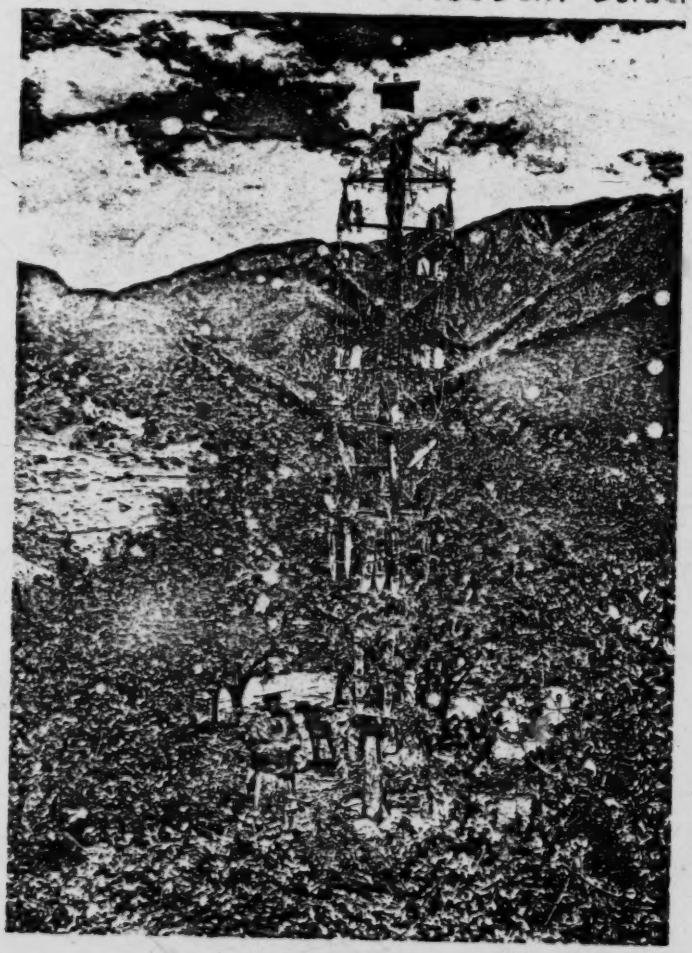

(*Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.*)

PLATE 223. — A HA-PA CONTRAPTION TO PREVENT HAILSTORMS

本圖係哈巴派防雹裝置之一種

This structure is called Nya-ta and is erected once every three or four years by the ancient sect of sorcerers called Ha-pa who have survived in Yung-ning and in Mu-li. The Nya-ta is built of wood and is surrounded with a network of string known as Na-k'wai by the Na-khi Dto-mbas. It is erected in the first moon, first in a valley, and in the second moon is moved to a hillside where it is left until a new one is needed.

[p. 410-0]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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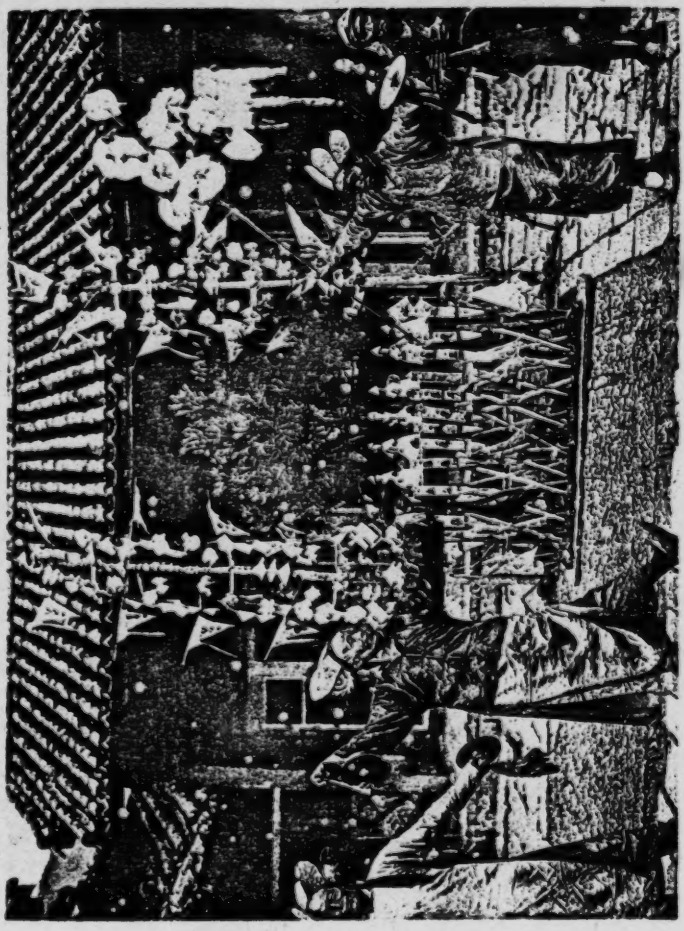

PLATE 229. — NA-KHI DTO-MBAS PERFORMING THE HA-LA-LLÜ CEREMONY (Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

納西多巴(祭)舉行[illegible]

The ceremony, lasting from three to five days, is to propitiate the spirits of suicides causing harm to the family to which they belonged. Many promiscuous love affairs end in double suicide.

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[p. 426 E]